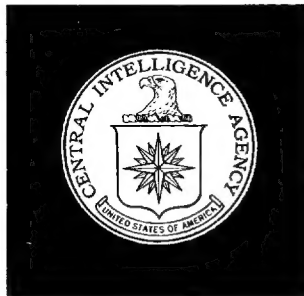


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Rhodesia Handbook

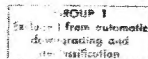
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INTRODUCTION

Since its unilateral declaration of independence from Britain in November 1965, Rhodesia's white minority government has successfully withstood worldwide hostility. The UN trade embargo has hampered economic growth and crippled Rhodesia's tobacco industry, but economic sanctions have not been strictly and uniformly enforced. As a result, the UN efforts have failed to bring the rebel government to terms. After five years, in fact, the country's basically strong, well-developed economy has begun to rebound. With a good year in agriculture, the economy grew by 11 percent in 1969 and exports rose for the first time since the declaration of independence. Although the new Conservative government in Britain intends to reopen negotiations with Rhodesia, the Ian Smith government is under little compulsion to bargain and indeed seems determined to pursue the course it has already set out for itself in a new constitution, which embodies white rule.

Ironically, although UN sanctions have taken their toll on the economy, they have actually speeded up development in some sectors. Spurred by import restrictions, Rhodesia's manufacturing sector has grown at a rapid pace. Even agriculture, which has been the hardest hit by sanctions, has been forced to diversify, making Rhodesia self-sufficient in several agricultural products. Although the tobacco industry will remain depressed, sanctions are likely to become less and less effective as the demand grows for other Rhodesian products, particularly its minerals.

The Rhodesian Front (RF), which first came to power in 1962, continues to dominate the country's politics. Although the RF does not rule completely unopposed, its white critics were unable to win a single seat in the 1970 general election. A few black opponents were elected, but they represent very few Africans and serve mainly as window dressing in a white controlled parliament. The great majority of Africans have no role in the political system, and passively accept white dominance.

Although the African townships were the focus of violence and African Nationalist political activity in the early 1960s they have been relatively quiet since the government banned the nationalists' parties and placed their leaders in detention in mid-1964. The efforts since then of the nationalists—the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU) and the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU)—to mount a sustained insurgency from Zambia have been completely frustrated. In fact, their guerrilla fighters have been so badly mauled by Rhodesian security forces that from late 1968 until late 1970 there have been no major guerrilla incursions.

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Although South Africa and Portugal maintain close informal ties with Rhodesia, no state has extended formal diplomatic recognition to the rebel colony and nearly every country has at least formally complied with the UN trade embargo. Whatever hopes the Smith government may have had of breaking out of its isolation were given a further setback when the United States and several other countries in its train withdrew their missions from Salisbury after Rhodesia became a republic in March 1970.

Rhodesia maintains a 3,000-man army, a 1,080-man air force, and a 7,000-man police force that can be brought into play during times of emergency. The armed forces and police are well trained in counterinsurgency.

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GEOGRAPHY

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I. GEOGRAPHY

Location and boundaries

Rhodesia is located in south-central Africa. Landlocked, it shares a 1,875-mile border with Zambia, Portuguese Mozambique, South Africa, Botswana, and at one point, South West Africa.

Area

Rhodesia is about the size of Kansas and Oklahoma (151,000 square miles) and extends for maximum distances of 475 miles north to south and 515 miles east to west.

Topography

Flat to gently rolling plains, between 2,000 and 3,000 feet above sea level, cover most of Rhodesia. Scattered hills, dissected plains, and rugged mountains lie along its eastern and northern borders. Because of its height above sea level, most of the country has a modified tropical continental climate with distinct rainy and dry seasons and moderate seasonal variations in temperature. The rainy season generally runs from November through March and the dry season from April through October.

Natural resources

Agriculture—With the rapid rise of mining and manufacturing output in the last few years, agriculture has declined in importance, although it still accounts for about 15 percent of Rhodesia's national income. Tobacco, sugar, cotton, wheat, corn, and rice are important cash crops, but tobacco, Rhodesia's largest foreign exchange earner before UDI, and sugar have been hit hard by economic sanctions. The country is largely self-sufficient in food, although there are severe food shortages among Africans in rural areas during prolonged dry spells.

Mining—Rhodesia is well-endowed in minerals. It exports asbestos, gold, copper, chromite, iron, nickel, lithium, coal, and other ores in lesser quantities. Rhodesia has no known oil deposits.

Human resources

Population composition—In March 1969 the non-African population of Rhodesia was about 252,000—228,000 whites, 15,000 Coloreds, and 9,000

Asians—and the African population was over 4,800,000. The white population is predominantly British. The Mashona (Shona) tribal group makes up about three-quarters of the African population; the Matabele (Ndebele) make up most of the rest.

Distribution—The population is fairly evenly distributed across the country. Nearly 75 percent of the white population and an even higher percentage of Coloreds and Asians, however, live in urban areas. Four out of five Africans live in rural areas. The two largest towns are Salisbury (400,000) and Bulawayo (250,000).

Demographic trends—The white population is increasing by about 2.2 percent a year while the African population is growing by 3.5 percent or more a year.

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ECONOMIC
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II. ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

Growth rate and trends

By 1969 Rhodesia had weathered the worse of international economic sanctions. The trade embargo had its greatest impact in 1966. Tobacco, until then Rhodesia's largest foreign exchange earner, and some other agricultural products were particularly hard hit. Three years later, however, the economy showed definite signs of recovery. National income rose for the third year in a row, rising above the 1965 level for the first time in 1968 and increasing by about another 11% in 1969. Exports rose in 1969 for the first time since Rhodesia declared itself independent.

This strong showing was due to the growing skill of Rhodesian businessmen in evading sanctions, and expanded output in 1969 in agriculture, mining, and manufacturing. Tobacco is likely to remain depressed for some time, but the demand for other Rhodesian goods, especially its mineral products, will probably increase steadily over the next few years. The economy as a whole is expected to grow by at least 5% a year through 1975.

Income distribution

Rhodesia has the second most highly developed economy in Africa—second only to South Africa. The gap, however, between haves, mostly whites, and have-nots, mostly Africans, is large. In 1969 white wage earners averaged about \$3,400 a year, or almost ten times as much as African workers (\$345). Most Africans, of course, still earn a living from subsistence farming.

Main sectors of the economy

Agriculture—Prior to 1965, agriculture accounted for about a fifth of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and 40% of Rhodesia's total export earnings. The tobacco and sugar industries, which together produced about 60% of the country's marketed agricultural output, however, have been crippled by sanctions. To keep farmers on the land and to lessen the financial burden it has incurred by subsidizing tobacco prices, the government has encouraged farmers to diversify. This has led to self-sufficiency in corn, dairy products, fruits and vegetables, and some other items. Although the government will have to continue to subsidize tobacco farmers, the main long-term problem it faces is converting more of the burgeoning African

Rhodesia

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population to commercial farming. White-owned farms still produce over 90% of the country's cash crops.

Manufacturing—Spurred by import restrictions, the result of economic sanctions, manufacturing has become Rhodesia's largest and fastest growing sector. Metal products, food, and textile and clothing make up almost half of this increased output. Expansion has not been without a price as costs and prices have risen as a result of the smallness of the domestic market, the initial cost of machinery, the high salaries of skilled technicians, and the cost of training unskilled staff. Rhodesia's import substitution industries have also caused a drain on precious foreign exchange reserves through their need for machinery and raw materials. If and when normal external trading resumes, however, most of Rhodesia's new industries will probably be highly competitive.

Mining—Although the mining industry now accounts for only about 6% of the national income, it is expected to grow by leaps and bounds during the 1970s. The government claims that output will increase from about \$80 million to \$240 million a year. Rhodesia now produces gold, asbestos, copper, coal, iron, tin, and lithium, but extensive exploration is under way for a variety of other minerals. Known nickel deposits alone are expected to bring in an additional \$24 million a year when fully exploited.

Construction—Rhodesia has been experiencing a "building boom" since 1966. Much of this demand has been generated by the desire of Europeans for new housing. Two thirds of the building plans in 1968 were for residential property with the rest split between industry, commerce, and others.

Government economic policy

The Rhodesian Front government has taken an increasingly direct role in regulating the economy since 1965. It has established stringent import-export and foreign exchange controls, and under the Emergency Powers Act (1966) the government exercises almost unlimited control over the operations of some foreign-owned companies in Rhodesia. To strengthen the economy the government has promoted diversification in agriculture and industry, and has tried to shore up those sectors hurt by sanctions. It has established price supports (and quotas) for tobacco and has provided diversification loans, fuel and fertilizer subsidies, drought relief assistance, tsetse fly control, and irrigation program for farmers. To encourage the growth of domestic light industries the government has provided loans and tax incentives, has set up import controls and tariffs to exclude certain goods and in some instances has even guaranteed a monopoly to certain concerns.

Foreign assistance

Rhodesia has never depended on foreign aid. When it was a part of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland it took out a loan from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development to help construct the Rhodesian Railway system and the Kariba power complex. Various countries and private foundations have also given small amounts of aid for programs helping the rural African. And, since 1965, South Africa has extended credit to cover Rhodesia's occasional foreign exchange shortages.

Foreign trade

Both imports and exports dropped sharply in 1966 following the implementation of economic sanctions. Because South Africa and Portugal have been unwilling to cut off their trade with Rhodesia and in fact have allowed Rhodesia to export its goods through disguised channels, imports have gradually increased and exports, although they continued to decline through 1968, finally rose in 1969. Exports are still below the 1965 level, but they are expected to grow as sanctions become less and less effective.

The pattern of Rhodesian trade has also undergone significant changes in the last five years. Until Salisbury broke away from Britain nearly a quarter of the country's trade was with the UK; now this trade is minuscule. Trade with Zambia, which bought about 30% of Rhodesian exports in 1965, has also dwindled. On the other hand, South Africa has become Rhodesia's best market, taking about one third of Rhodesian exports regularly. Most of the rest of its trade, which is carried on clandestinely, is with West European countries—

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Balance of payments

Sanctions have had a noticeable effect on Rhodesia's balance of payments, leading to deficits in total current and capital transactions in 1966 and 1968.

Financial system

Rhodesia has a well-organized, flexible money and credit system. The Reserve Bank of Rhodesia functions as a central bank, issuing currency, buying and selling local and treasury bills at discount, buying and selling precious metals and foreign exchange, controlling commercial banks, acting

as banker to the government, and granting loans on behalf of the government. In addition, Rhodesia has four commercial banks and many other credit institutions, including a savings bank, six finance companies, three building societies, a land agricultural bank, and five development corporations—which provide credit to the private sector. The currency is the Rhodesian dollar (R\$1=US\$1.40).

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POLITICAL
SITUATION
AND TRENDS

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III. POLITICAL SITUATION AND TRENDS

Historical

The first white settlers came to Rhodesia in 1890 in the Pioneer Column organized by the Kimberley diamond magnate and avowed imperialist Cecil Rhodes. Although his Chartered Company granted each man the right to a 3,000-acre farm, the pioneers came in search of gold, not land. Gold was found, in small amounts, and is still mined today, but the great gold fields Rhodes dreamed of never materialized. In fact, in the 33 years that the company governed Rhodesia, it never paid a single dividend to its stockholders.

Armed with the maxim machinegun the company "police" easily subjugated the local African tribes, the Mashona and the more warlike Matabele. But in 1896 both tribes rose in revolt, and the Mashona fought a bloody guerrilla war that took nearly a year and a half to put down. Held in subservience, the African subsequently became a cheap and ready source of labor—at first for white-owned farms and domestic service, and later on for Rhodesia's mines and factories.

In 1922 the British government, in one of its economizing moves, gave Rhodesia's 30,000 or so whites the choice of union with South Africa or becoming a self-governing colony. They chose self-government. In addition to responsibility for Rhodesia's foreign affairs, London retained the power to intervene on behalf of the African. But for almost 40 years Britain never did so, and political power became firmly entrenched in the hands of the white minority. In 1931, for example, the Rhodesian legislature passed the Land Apportionment Act, which divided Rhodesia almost equally between whites and blacks. Not surprisingly the whites allotted the more fertile land to themselves.

Whatever resentment the Africans bore the white man, however, remained largely below the surface until the late 1950s when, as African nationalism began to sweep the continent, the political attitudes of blacks in Rhodesia began to change too. Inspired by the success of other nationalist movements in Africa, Rhodesia's own nationalists began to call for "one-man, one-vote" and to some extent they were successful in amassing a following, particularly in urban areas. Their own internal bickering and violent clashes between some of their followers, however, made the nationalists an easy target for repression. By 1964 the government had banned their organizations and had placed their leaders in detention.

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As Africans became more active politically, the whites reacted by moving further and further to the right. The white voter's acceptance of the 1961 constitution, which provided for eventual African majority rule, seemed to be a triumph for racial moderates. But in 1962 the Rhodesian Front party, playing on white fears of social integration and black rule, came to power. Its avowed goal was to gain independence under white rule. After frustrating and often bitter negotiations with the British government, which refused to grant independence until the principle of ultimate African majority rule was guaranteed, the government of Ian Smith unilaterally declared itself independent on 11 November 1965. In March 1970 it finally put into effect a constitution institutionalizing white rule.

Structure of government

Executive—Under its present constitution Rhodesia is a republic with a president as head of state and a prime minister as head of government. The president is chosen by the Executive Council, or cabinet, for a five year term and may serve two terms. In addition to summoning, proroguing, and dissolving parliament, he appoints the Prime Minister and his ministers. Thus the outgoing cabinet appoints the president who in turn appoints the new cabinet. Of course as long as one party firmly holds the reins of power, as is the case in Rhodesia, this constitutional anomaly makes little difference. The Prime Minister and his Executive Council function much the same as the cabinet in the British system.

Legislature—The legislature consists of a Senate and a House of Assembly. The Senate has 23 members—ten Europeans elected by an electoral college made up of European members of the House; ten African chiefs selected by the Council of Chiefs; and three persons of any race appointed by the president. The Senate has only delaying powers. Real legislative authority resides in the House of Assembly whose powers are virtually unchecked by the Senate or the courts, which have no constitutional power of review. At present the Assembly has 50 non-African members elected by registered non-African voters (Europeans, Asians, and Coloreds), eight Africans elected by registered African voters, and eight Africans chosen by tribal and rural councils. Although the number of African representatives is supposed to increase gradually until parity between Africans and non-Africans is reached, the conditions for achieving parity are so stringent that it is a long way off.

Judicial—The legal system is based on Roman-Dutch law. The judiciary is headed by a Chief Justice of the High Court, which has two divisions—the appellate and the general division. The appellate division is the superior court

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of record and the Supreme Court of appeal. The general division has jurisdiction in civil and criminal cases. Judges are appointed by the President after consultation with the Prime Minister. There are also tribal courts presided over by chiefs and headmen that have jurisdiction in civil and criminal cases involving Africans in the Tribal Trust lands.

Local government—There is a variety of local government authorities. In urban areas, for example, there are: Village Management Boards, appointed and subsidized by the Minister of Local Government and Housing; Town Management Boards, elected by the residents, which have some power to levy local taxes; and, elected Municipal Councils, such as in Salisbury and Bulawayo, which are relatively free of central government control. African townships are generally under the administration of the Municipal Council. In addition, there are District Commissioners, appointed by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, who oversee chiefs and headmen and rural councils in African designated areas. There are also local community boards and councils in rural European areas.

Political dynamics

The Rhodesian Front—The ruling Rhodesian Front (RF) party has dominated Rhodesian politics since it came to power in 1962. Although it won only a small parliamentary majority in that year, by the time of the 1965 elections it had grown so strong that it garnered over 80% of the vote and took all 50 predominantly white constituency seats. In the April 1970 general election it again took all 50 seats.

One fundamental reason for the RF's strength is the fact that it articulates the basic goals and values of Rhodesian whites. These include the preservation of white society in Rhodesia; the permanent establishment of "civilized government," meaning a white-controlled government; the maintenance of segregated neighborhoods and social facilities; and the security of white land tenure, employment, and wage privileges. Rhodesia's economic and political isolation since its declaration of independence in 1965 has only united the white population more firmly behind the RF government.

Ian Smith—Another source of RF strength is the popularity of Prime Minister Ian Smith. Smith is a tough, determined, dedicated man who is fixed in his beliefs and ideals. He was one of the founding members of the RF and in 1964 he became Prime Minister. A year later he led Rhodesia to independence and into rebellion. Since then he has become a symbol to most whites of their independence. He has vowed that there will be no African government in his lifetime and he has declared that "The White man

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is master of Rhodesia. He has built it and he intends to keep it." In this he echoes the feelings of a good many whites.

Opposition elements—Since 1965 opposition to the RF has been weak and fragmented. The major daily papers, most white church leaders, many prominent businessmen, some white politicians, and the small blackparliamentary opposition all opposed UDI. Those whites and blacks, however, who continue to criticize the course Prime Minister and his party have set for Rhodesia can marshal little support within their own racial communities. Support for white political moderates has all but disappeared as reflected by their poor showing in the last two general elections. And even though the African population outnumbers the whites by more than 20 to 1, Africans have remained generally passive, either out of fear of government repression, indifference, or loyalty to their traditional tribal chiefs. The only Africans with any potential mass appeal are the nationalists and their parties are outlawed and their leaders are in detention, restriction, or exile.

Political problems

Race relations—Some observers believe that Rhodesia is a racial time bomb. They point to the already large ratio of blacks to whites and to the fact that the African population will double in less than 20 years. Projected land shortages, in a country where a small white minority owns almost half the land, and more severe African urban unemployment, when most skilled jobs are now reserved for whites, they argue, will lead inevitably to an explosion. They may be right, but as long as the African continues passively to accept white domination as he does now, then political upheaval is unlikely. To maintain control, the Smith government has strengthened its security forces, and has sought to bolster the role of the tribal chiefs. It has also recognized the need to promote economic development in tribal areas, but so far it has taken only modest steps in this direction.

Isolation—The government has also had to combat the sense of isolation Rhodesian whites have experienced since independence was declared. So far a sort of siege mentality has flourished which has only reinforced white support for the government, although there has been some disgruntlement among those who have borne the brunt of economic sanctions. Over the long run, however, its effects are much more difficult to gauge and could become a problem.

Church-State conflict—Under the 1969 Land Tenure Act the churches were required to register on 1 September 1970 as "voluntary associations" in order to continue running their schools and hospitals in African areas, and in

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order to conduct multiracial church services. The churches, however, refused to register, arguing that they were not subject to regulation by the state and that they could not comply in good conscience with a law that was "racialistic and un-Christian." After meeting with church leaders in late August, Prime Minister Smith announced that the churches would be allowed to carry on their work in African designated areas without registering, but that they would have to apply for permits by February 1971 to continue their multiracial activities. Unless the churches have privately agreed to this—which seems unlikely—nothing has been settled yet.

Police

Police—Rhodesia's national police force—known as the British South Africa Police (BSAP)—is efficient and well-trained. In addition to its normal police duties, the BSAP assists the army in counterinsurgency operations and the Central Intelligence Organization in countersubversion. The BSAP has been particularly instrumental in penetrating and destroying the nationalist's clandestine networks within Rhodesia. Its force is 7,000 strong, including 4,500 Africans.

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SUBVERSION

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IV. SUBVERSION

Communist activity

Although the Smith government fancies itself a "bulwark against Communism," there is no imminent Communist threat to Rhodesia. There is no Communist Party of Rhodesia. The nationalists of course do receive arms and money from Communist countries—ZAPU mainly from the Soviet Union and ZANU from Communist China—but their allegiance to Marxism goes little beyond their mouthing revolutionary rhetoric.

The nationalists

The Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU) and the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU)—Rhodesia's main African nationalist groups—represent the only active subversive threat to the white regime. Proscribed and operating from exile in Zambia, they have sought by guerrilla raids to sap the strength and confidence of the government. In this effort, the OAU's African Liberation Committee, and the Soviet Union, Communist China, Cuba, the UAR, Algeria, and Tanzania have supplied ZAPU and ZANU with arms, training, and funds. The nationalists, however, show no signs of becoming a major threat. They are poorly led and organized and are bitterly split. Moreover, they have little organized indigenous support.

ZAPU, which may have about 800 trained guerrilla fighters, has been by far the most active of the two groups. In mid-1967, it formed a loose alliance with the African National Congress of South Africa. After that the two groups infiltrated four large groups of 100 or more guerrillas into Rhodesia. Each time, however, the Rhodesian army and police were well-informed of their plans and inflicted heavy losses on the guerrillas. Except for a minor raid on a border police post and the Victoria Falls airport in January 1970 there have been no incursions from the end of 1968 to the end of 1970.

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LEADING
PERSONALITIES

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V. LEADING PERSONALITIES

Chief of State: Clifford W. Dupont

After Rhodesia became a republic in March 1970, Clifford Dupont's election to the presidency was almost a foregone conclusion. One of the founders of the Rhodesian Front and reputed to be one of the main formulators of its principles, he has acted as the country's chief executive in place of the British governor since independence was declared in 1965. Before that he held several ministerial posts and served for a time as Deputy Prime Minister and co-president of the Rhodesian Front. He gave up most of these posts in mid-1964 because of poor health, but because of his popularity within the party he was raised to the largely ceremonial post of Officer Administering the Government in November 1965. Dupont was born in London in 1905.

Head of Government: Ian Douglas Smith

Son of an early settler, a gentleman farmer, RAF pilot and war hero, Prime Minister Ian Smith is the personification of qualities held in high esteem by most white Rhodesians. Friendly, straightforward, unexcitable, self-assured, he is firmly wedded to a sense of values he would not think of changing. Smith entered politics in 1948 and, on the strength of his anti-Communist views and his opposition to African participation in government, he was elected to the Rhodesian legislature. Later he won a seat in the parliament of the federation, which then linked present day Rhodesia, Zambia, and Malawi, and in 1958 he became the chief parliamentary whip of the governing party. In 1961, however, he resigned in opposition to the 1961 constitutional proposals and helped found the Rhodesian Front party. After the 1962 election he became Minister of Treasury and Leader of the House and in 1964 Prime Minister. Despite almost world-wide hostility and UN-imposed economic sanctions against Rhodesia, Smith continues to follow the policy he reaffirmed in a July 1967 speech: "We will never deviate. Our independence is something which we have and something we have no intention of ever relinquishing. We are going quietly on our way building a constitution for Rhodesians by Rhodesians which I believe in the end will be the correct answer for Rhodesia." Smith was born in Rhodesia in 1919.

Other prominent politicians

Desmond W. Lardner-Burke: Lardner-Burke has been Minister of Justice and Law and Order since June 1964. One of the most extreme right-wing reactionaries in the cabinet and strongly anti-British, he was one of the

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earliest and most forceful advocates of a unilateral declaration of independence. Although he apparently knows little about international Communism or developments elsewhere in Africa, at times he seems almost obsessed with the threat of Communism in Africa. He was born in Kimberley, South Africa in 1909, and moved to Rhodesia to practice law in 1933.

John J. Wrathall: John Wrathall has been Minister of Finance since May 1965 and Deputy Prime Minister since September 1966. He is also one of the two deputy presidents of the Rhodesian Front. A well-known chartered accountant, Wrathall is a capable technician. He is level-headed and practical, rather than doctrinaire, and a moderate by Rhodesian standards. Since his appointment as deputy prime minister, however, he has taken more extreme stands in public to appease his right-wing critics in the RF. He was born in Lancaster, England in 1913 and came to Rhodesia in 1935.

John Hartley Howman: One of the most moderate members of the cabinet by reputation, Howman became Minister of External Affairs and Defense in September 1968. He has held several portfolios including Information, Internal Affairs, Local Government, and African Education. Although he resigned from his cabinet post when Winston Field was ousted from the prime ministership in 1964, he rejoined the cabinet after the 1965 elections and has become a firm supporter of Prime Minister Ian Smith. Howman was born in Rhodesia in 1918.

African nationalist leaders

James Chikerema: Although Joshua Nkomo is the titular head of the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU), Chikerema has run ZAPU since Nkomo's was placed in restriction by Rhodesian authorities in 1964. An early activist, Chikerema himself spent four years (1959-63) in detention. After Rhodesia broke with Britain, he converted ZAPU into a guerrilla organization. After years of frustration, however, ZAPU has become increasingly faction ridden under his leadership. Since an open split with some of his colleagues in early 1970, Chikerema has reportedly been seeking a reconciliation with ZANU leaders. He was born in 1925.

Herbert Chitepo: Chitepo has been the acting head of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) since early 1966. Its president, the Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole, has been incarcerated in Rhodesia since late 1964. Although ZANU is smaller than ZAPU and has engaged in little if any guerrilla activity since 1966, Chitepo has been able to hold ZANU together and gain recognition and aid from the Organization of African Unity. Although he is considered pro-West, Chitepo is a dedicated nationalist who is

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willing to seek and accept aid from any source. He was educated in South Africa and the United Kingdom, and was a practicing lawyer for several years. He was born in 1923.

Leaders of the security forces

Major General Keith R. Coster: General Coster became Commander of the Rhodesian army in June 1968. From 1937 to 1954 he served as an officer in the South African Army. He then joined the Federal army in 1955 and became a officer in the Rhodesian Army after the breakup of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. He became a strong supporter of the Smith government after November 1965. Coster is a tough and apparently capable officer. Although he believes Rhodesia should maintain the capability to conduct punitive raids into Zambia against guerrilla staging camps, he has opposed such action so far as unwarranted and unnecessary. He was born in South Africa in 1920.

Syd F. S. Bristow: Before his appointment as Commissioner of Police in June 1970, Bristow was in charge of the Special Branch, dealing with security matters, and Deputy Chief of the Central Intelligence Organization. He is a solid career policeman although of only moderate intellect. He was born in South Africa and joined the Rhodesian police force in 1939.

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ARMED FORCES

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VI. ARMED FORCES

Organization and manpower

Rhodesia's armed forces consist of a 3,000-man army, a 1,080-man air force, and a 7,400-man Territorial Reserve Force. About 1,000 Africans serve in the army with the Rhodesian African Rifles. The Territorial Force is all white.

Mission and capability

The army and air force, whose primary responsibility is counterinsurgency, are very effective. Because of its size the army could not handle a widespread rebellion among Africans or defend Rhodesia from attack by a modern division size force, but neither is a likely possibility. In times of emergency both the Territorial Force and the 7,000-man police force, which has a paramilitary capability, have been mobilized to serve with the army.

Military budget

As a result of increased insurgency and rising armament costs, and a conscious effort on the part of the government to ensure the loyalty of its defense force immediately after independence, defense budgets have steadily increased since 1965. Pay increases went to all the forces in early 1966. From 1966 to 1969, defense spending increased by about a third to \$41 million, or 11.8% of the national budget. The police receive the largest share of defense allocations, 47%; the army gets 29% and the air force 24%.

Logistics

The arms embargo has made it more difficult to replace worn out parts and to procure new military equipment, but Rhodesia has been able to get most of what it needs from South Africa and from French and West German arms dealers.

Defense agreements

Rhodesia has no formal defense agreements, but its intelligence officials do meet regularly with the Portuguese and South Africans to discuss insurgent groups, and its air force has provided some support on an ad hoc basis to Portuguese forces operating in Mozambique.

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Training

The Rhodesians do most of their own training. The major emphasis in all phases of training, in the regular army as well as the Territorial Force, is on counterinsurgency. The Rhodesians send some army and air force personnel to military schools in South Africa for specialized training.

Paramilitary organizations

In addition to its regular duties, the police—known as the British South African Police—are involved in intelligence operations, border surveillance, and counterinsurgency operations with the army. They are quite capable.

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FOREIGN
RELATIONS

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VII. FOREIGN RELATIONS

Approach to foreign policy

Rhodesia has been treated, at least publicly, as a pariah by most of the world since November 1965. No state has extended diplomatic recognition to the rebel colony—not even South Africa and Portugal—and an increasingly restrictive trade ban has been applied against it. Whatever hopes the Smith government may have had of breaking out of this isolation were given a further setback when the United States and several other states withdrew their missions from Salisbury after Rhodesia became a republic in March 1970. A number of countries, however, continue to trade secretly with Rhodesia, and Salisbury will probably concentrate mainly on expanding its trade ties whenever it can over the next few years.

Relations with the United Kingdom

British efforts to force Rhodesia to "return to legality" have proven completely ineffective. The Labor government of Prime Minister Harold Wilson refused from the start to resort to military force and sought instead to end the rebellion by negotiations and the gradual tightening of economic sanctions. Although the Conservatives, who are more sympathetic to the Rhodesians, are now in power, their approach to negotiations is unlikely to differ significantly from the Laborites. The Conservatives have stated that any settlement must be in accord with a statement, called the five principles. The first principle—guarantees of unimpeded progress to majority rule—is anathema to the white Rhodesians, and now that the economy seems to have weathered sanctions, a negotiated settlement seems even more remote than before.

Relations with South Africa and Portugal

The support of South Africa and Portugal has been crucial to the survival of the Smith government. Without their assistance Rhodesia could not have withstood UN economic sanctions. Ironically, both countries disapproved of Rhodesia's unilateral declaration of independence because they feared that it would focus unfavorable world attention on themselves. They were even more fearful, however, that sanctions might work and then be applied against themselves, so they refused to support the UK and UN trade embargoes. Since then cooperation between the three states, particularly in security matters, has increased noticeably. In August 1967, South African

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helicopters and police units took part in counterinsurgency operations in Rhodesia and some 300 South African police are now stationed there indefinitely. Rhodesia in turn has provided transport, reconnaissance, and probably combat aircraft support for Portuguese forces in Mozambique. The Rhodesian, South African, and Portuguese security services also meet regularly to exchange intelligence on the insurgent groups.

Relations with African states

Zambia—Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda is unalterably opposed to the white-minority government in Salisbury and has been doing everything he can to reduce his country's economic dependence on Rhodesia. Although Zambia has been able to cut its imports from Rhodesia by more than 70 percent, the Rhodesian Railway still carried most of its imports and 35 to 40 percent of its copper exports. Zambia is also dependent on the Kariba dam for electrical power.

In the face of Zambia's outspoken hostility, the Smith government has remained outwardly calm. Prime Minister Smith has been urged by some of his advisers to order commando strikes against guerrilla bases in Zambia, but he has preferred to rely so far on the implied threat of economic sanctions to force Zambia to moderate its actions and to hold the guerrillas in line.

Other African states—Although African states have been unable to bring about the fall of the Smith government as they would like, they have been instrumental in getting the United Kingdom and the United Nations to take concerted action against Rhodesia. In 1966 and again in 1968 they played an important role in getting the UN Security Council to invoke economic sanctions against Rhodesia. Frustrated by the political ineffectiveness of sanctions, however, they have repeatedly urged stronger steps, including the use of military force to bring down the Smith regime and the implementation of economic sanctions against South Africa and Portuguese Mozambique, but these proposals have been defeated in the Security Council time and again.

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VIII. US INTERESTS

After Rhodesia declared its independence the US continued to operate a small consulate in Salisbury, but when the country became a republic in March 1970 the consulate was closed.

There are about 1,000 US citizens, mostly missionaries and their families, living in Rhodesia.

Rhodesia receives no aid from the US, although it owes some money for an AID loan granted in 1954 to the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland to build the Rhodesian Railways.

US trade with Rhodesia—never great—has decreased to almost nothing since November 1965 and is now composed mainly of pharmaceuticals, foodstuff for charity organizations, and some printed matter.

Several US companies, including Union Carbide Corporation (in chrome), the Foote Mineral Company (in chrome), and Corning Glass (in petalite), have investment interests in Rhodesia. According to the Rhodesian Government, total US private investment amounted to about \$56 million in 1965. Because of trade restrictions many US subsidiaries are now being run by Rhodesian officials by authority of the Emergency Control Act.

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IX. CHRONOLOGY AND TABULAR DATA

Chronology of Key Events

1889	Queen Victoria grants Cecil Rhodes' British South Africa Company a Royal Charter for Rhodesia.
1890	First white settlers arrive in Rhodesia.
1923 October	Southern Rhodesia becomes a self-governing colony of the United Kingdom.
1953 September	Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland is inaugurated.
1961 July	Referendum approves proposals for new constitution.
December	New constitution is promulgated.
December	Newly formed Rhodesian Front wins general elections; Winston Field becomes Prime Minister.
1965 May	Rhodesian Front (RF) sweeps general election.
November	Prime Minister Smith issues unilateral declaration of independence (UDI). United Kingdom initiates economic and political sanctions.
1966 April	UN Security Council authorizes United Kingdom to blockade Mozambique port of Beira to stop oil supplies from reaching Rhodesia.
December	Prime Ministers Smith and Wilson hold talks aboard H.M.S. Tiger at Gibraltar. UN Security Council invokes selective mandatory sanctions against Rhodesia.
1967 August	First African National Congress-ZAPU incursion.
1968 May	UN Security Council invokes comprehensive economic sanctions against Rhodesia.

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October	Prime Minister Smith and Prime Minister Wilson hold talks once more at Gibraltar on British warship H.M.S. Fearless.
1969 June	Rhodesian electorate approves formally declaring Rhodesia a republic and adopting the framework of a new constitution in referendum. United Kingdom announces the resignation of its governor, Sir Humphrey Gibbs, and the closing of its mission in Salisbury and of the Rhodesian mission in London.
1970 March	New Constitution goes into effect.
April	Rhodesian Front sweeps general election.

Tabular Data

Holidays and Significant Dates

1 January	New Year's Day
	Good Friday, Easter Saturday, Easter Monday
Last Monday in May	Whit Monday
7 July	Rhodes' Day
8 July	Founder's Day
12 September	Pioneer Day
11 November	Independence Day
25 December	Christmas
26 December	Boxing Day

Selected Factual Data

LAND

151,000 sq. mi.; 40% arable (of which 6% cultivated); 60% available for extensive cattle grazing; European alienated lands (farmed by modern methods) 37%, African 46%, national land 7%, 6% not alienated (1970)

PEOPLE

Population: 5,257,000; males 15-49, 1,221,000; 750,000 fit for military service; average number reaching military age (18) annually, 60,000

Ethnic divisions: 96% African, 3% European, less than 1% Coloreds and Asians

Religion: 51% syncretic (part Christian, part animist); 24% Christian; 24% animist; a few Muslim

Language: English official; Chishona and Sindebele also widely used

Literacy: 25%-30%; of whites, nearly 100%

Labor force: 48,000 wage earners (1968), 663,000 Africans (including many migrants from Zambia and Malawi), 85,000 Europeans; 35% agriculture, 25% mining, manufacturing, construction, 40% transport and services

Organized labor: most European wage earners are unionized, but only a small minority of Africans

GOVERNMENT

Legal name: Colony of Southern Rhodesia

Capital: Salisbury

Political subdivisions: 11 magisterial districts

Type: typical parliamentary governmental structure; declared independence (illegally) from U.K. 11 November 1965

Legal system: Smith government implemented a republican constitution on 2 March 1970 which institutionalized white rule

Government leaders: Prime Minister Ian Smith and President Clifford Dupont

Suffrage: extremely complicated franchise designed to give highly disproportionate weight to white vote based on income, property holdings, and education; under new constitution there will be separate roles for Africans and non-Africans

Elections: must be held every 5 years

Political parties and leaders: Rhodesian Front, Prime Minister Smith; main parliamentary opposition, all black National Peoples Union, Gordon Chavanduka; the Republican Alliance, Dr. James Redmond; Centre Party, Pat Bashford

Voting strength (1965 elections): Rhodesian Front won 50 seats in Parliament

Communists: negligible

Other pressure groups and leaders: African nationalist organizations banned from political activity—Zimbabwe African People's Union, Joshua Nkomo; Zimbabwe African National Union, Ndabaningi Sithole; these leaders detained by government; exiled leaders in Lusaka, Zambia, are James Chikerema (ZAPU) and Herbert Chitepo (ZANU)

ECONOMY

GDP: \$1,223 million (1969 est.); \$230 per capita; real growth rate 2.2%

Agriculture: main crops—tobacco, corn, sugar, cotton, citrus fruits; livestock; self-sufficient in foodstuffs except wheat

Major industries: mining and steel, textiles

Electric power: 1,187,000 kw. capacity (1969); 5,580 million kw.-hr. produced (1969); 1,160 kw.-hr. per capita

Exports: \$272 million (f.o.b., 1968), including net gold sales and re-exports; tobacco, asbestos, copper, clothing, meat, chrome, sugar

Imports: \$290 million (f.o.b., 1968); textiles, machinery, petroleum products, wheat, transport equipment

Major trade partners: South Africa, Portugal, and Portuguese territories

Aid: no substantial military or economic aid

Monetary conversion rate: 1 Rhodesian dollar=US\$1.40 (official); 0.714 Rhodesian dollar=US\$1

Fiscal year: 1 July - 30 June

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COMMUNICATIONS

Railroads: 1,610 mi. narrow gage (3'6"); 26 mi. double track
Highways: 48,000 mi.; 3,650 mi. paved, 18,350 mi. crushed stone, gravel, stabilized soil, or improved earth; 26,070 mi. unimproved earth
Inland waterways: 175 mi. on Lake Kariba
Pipelines: crude oil, 10 mi. (part of Beira-Umtali line; not operating)
Airfields: 258 total, 170 usable; 7 with permanent-surface runways; 1 with runway over 12,000 ft., 22 with runways 4,000-7,999 ft.
Civil air: 18 major transport aircraft
Telecommunications: system is one of the best in Africa; consists of radio-relay links, open-wire lines, and radiocommunication stations; principal center Salisbury, secondary center Bulawayo; 112,100 telephones; 135,000 radio and 48,000 TV receivers, 7 AM, no FM and 2 TV stations

DEFENSE FORCES

Personnel: army 3,000, air force 1,080 (123 pilots), police 7,000
Major ground units: 3 brigade headquarters, 2 battalions, 1 special air services squadron (company)
Aircraft: 98 (54 jet), including 25 jet fighter bombers, 15 jet light bombers, 14 jet trainers, 32 prop, 12 helicopters
Supply: dependent upon U.K. prior to declaration of independence on 11 November 1965; since then South Africa has been principal supplier
Military budget: for fiscal year ending 30 June 1970, \$45,006,000; 13.1% of total budget

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Selected National Intelligence Survey (NIS) Material

The following sections of the NIS are relevant:

NIS Area 57B (Rhodesia) General Survey (Feb 70)

Sec 23S Meteorological Organization and Facilities (Jan 68)
Sec 41 Population (May 69)
Sec 43 Religion, Education and Public Information (Apr 68)

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Sec 44 Manpower (Sept 68)
Sec 57 Subversion and Insurgency (Jul 67)
Sec 61 Agriculture, Fisheries and Forestry (Jan 70)
Sec 62F Fuels (Aug 69)
Sec 62P Electric Power (Aug 69)
Sec 65 Trade and Finance (Sept 69)

NIS Area 57 (Rhodesia plus present day Zambia and Malawi)

Sec 21 Military Geographic Regions (Apr 60)
Sec 23 Weather and Climate (Dec 55)
Sec 24 Topography (Dec 59)
Sec 45 Health and Sanitation (Dec 68)
Sec 63 Minerals and Metals (Dec 67)
Gazetteer (Apr 56)

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